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As. 3 in red soil tracts and As. 3-8 in the Tungabhadra channel area. The area affected is mainly black cotton soil and that is why there is not much cultivation going on there now. If the labourers are paid in grain their wage is As. 2-1 in both black and red soil tracts. Women's wages are As. 2-2 and As. 2-1 in cash and As. 1-2 and As. 1-8 in grain. For reaping and harvesting, the cash wages are a little higher, being for men As. 3-2 in black soil and As. 3-5 in red soils. The cash wages for women are As. 2-5 in both soils. I am quoting these to show that the wages now paid on the test works are not very low. During the period of test we are justified in presuming that the people have some resources left; it is not desirable for the Government to take the place of the landlord or the ryot and relieve him of the duty of paying adequate wages by maintaining the labouring classes during the off-season. It is the custom of the country for the agricultural labourers to be paid such wages during the working season as will enable them to tide over the slack season. I can assure the House that we are watching the situation very carefully. The area is not far from the headquarters of the Bellary district and the Collector has easy access to the various works. The Government have displayed considerable sympathy towards this district in the last few years. The communiqué to which my hon. Friend referred will show that we have recently remitted $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees of land revenue and suspended till next year the collection of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees. We have also been very generous in the matter of loans. I am asking for this grant to enable us to provide, till the next meeting of the Legislative Council, work for the labouring classes in the Bellary district on the present lines; if rains come we may be able to close the works. We have to bear in mind that we must neither make the labouring classes suffer nor waste Government money."

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

The demand was put and carried and the grant made.

IX.—THE ORISSA COMMITTEE REPORT.

The hon. Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL:—"Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move—

'that the Report of the Orissa Committee be taken into consideration.'"

Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasāyo:—"I rise to a point of order. It is said that the motion is made under rule 24-A. That rule I fear does not apply here. No reference has been made by the Government of India under section 52-A. This Council is not competent to consider the question. It is a central subject and this Council has nothing to do with it and it does not appear from the communications received that the Government of India has made any reference to the opinion of this Council."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"Will the hon. Member point out whether the reference of the Government of India is necessary for a motion like this?"

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Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasayo:—"Section 52 says that the Government of India may after obtaining the expression of opinion of the Local Government and the local legislature affected, etc."

Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI:—"Mr. President, Sir, the point raised by the hon. Member for Ganjam is entirely beside the point. In respect of an act which the Governor-General in Council may be doing in order to constitute a new Governor's province that section operates. But in regard to placing the subject before the Legislative Council for elucidating its opinion upon some subject it is entirely for the Local Government to place it before the Council. If this motion is put under Rule 24-A it is only in regard to the precedence in the agenda. It does not affect the subject matter. It is with regard to the precedence; otherwise it should come like an ordinary motion. But in a Government motion it is left to the Government to choose the place in the agenda."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I do not think the hon. Member from Ganjam has properly appreciated the significance of Rule 24-A. Rule 24-A deals with the question of the power of the Legislative Council to discuss motions other than resolutions and certain other matters. Further this motion does not contain any reference to the Governor-General and it mainly places before the House the report of the Orissa Committee for consideration. I do not think therefore that any objection need be raised to get through the discussion of this motion."

Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasayo:—"I raise another point of order. This Orissa Committee report relates not only to Madras areas but also areas outside Madras Presidency. This Council at any rate has no power to consider the whole report."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I think the hon. Member is aware that as far as this Province is affected by the Report of the Orissa Committee, this House is entitled to discuss it and therefore the objection that he has raised is quite out of order."

At this stage the House rose for lunch.

After Lunch—(2-30 p.m.).

* The hon. Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL:—"Mr. President, Sir, the question of forming a separate province for the Oriya races, so as to include in one province the people of the Oriya races who are scattered in different provinces at present, has been considered at various times since the beginning of this century. More recently, it was considered by the Statutory Commission and again at the Round Table Conference, and finally the consideration assumed a definite form by the appointment last September by the Government of India of a small committee to examine and report on the financial and other consequences of setting up a separate administration for Orissa, and to make recommendations regarding the boundaries in the event of separation. Volume I of the Report was published in April and Volume II has not yet reached this Government, and presumably has not been placed at the disposal of the public. It is however most desirable that the recommendations made in this Report should be dealt with as quickly as possible, for on the decision whether there is to be a separate province for Oriyas must

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necessarily depend the strength of the Legislative Council in this province and in the other provinces affected, and also the distribution of membership among the various communities if the system of separate electorates is still maintained. We all know that the Government are most anxious to press forward with the measures necessary for the introduction of new Reforms, and it is essential all such matters should be settled with the least possible delay. The Government of India have in the ordinary course asked for our views on this Report, and have intimated that they would welcome a discussion in this Council and will be glad to be informed of the proceedings here. It seemed to me that the best way of bringing about a discussion in this House was to bring forward this motion. But, in doing so, I have not made any definite proposals, and I do not propose that the official Members should express any definite views as to what the decision should be, or that they should vote on one side or the other, should an occasion arise for voting in the House. Certain proposals will be made, I understand, by hon. Members, and it was my intention that such amendments should be moved on my present motion.

"I will briefly summarize the proposals which are made in the Report. The Committee considered the various areas in the provinces which might possibly be included in the new Orissa province, and recommended that the new province should include three districts of the present Orissa, namely, Cuttack, Puri and Balasore, and also the area known as Angul which consists of the Angul subdivision and the Khond Mahals. They also recommended the inclusion of Khariar Zamindari in the Central Provinces with an area of 1,500 square miles and a population of 160,000 which the Committee describes as an extremely backward area. The only other area now in the Central Provinces which according to the Committee's proposals will be included in the new province is the Padampur tract which consists of 61 villages. The rest of the new province will include portions of the Ganjam district and agency and of the Vizagapatam Agency. The whole of the new province will have an area of about 33,000 square miles, of which 18,000 or rather more than half is to be provided from the Madras Presidency. The total population in the new province will be about $8\frac{1}{4}$ millions, of which $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions, or one-third, will be provided from the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency including the Jeypore Zamindari.

"Now, we are mainly concerned to-day, as many hon. Members have already remarked, with those portions which are to be transferred from this Presidency. I was anxious to get a map prepared to illustrate the proposals of the Committee, but I have not been able to do so. The area proposed to be transferred from the Madras Presidency includes almost the whole of the Ganjam district except the area on the south-east of Berhampur; Berhampur is to be transferred to the new province; also the Parlakimedi Zamindari and a portion of the Vizagapatam Agency including the Jeypore Zamindari.

"In considering the proposals for the administration of the new province, the Committee seem to have done their best to devise a system which will be as economical as possible. The administration will be

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in the hands of a Governor and two Ministers. The seat of Government will be at Cuttack. There will be two Secretaries to Government; one Revenue Commissioner, who will also be in charge of Forests, Excise, Registration, Land Records and Stamps; seven District Officers; two District Judges; a Development Commissioner in charge of the Agriculture, Veterinary, Co-operative and Industries departments; one Chief Engineer who will also be the Secretary to Government; an Inspector-General of Prisons and Civil Hospitals will also be the Director of Public Health; a Director of Public Instruction and an Inspector-General of Police. The number of superior officers is kept as small as possible. The All-India Service officers are to be borrowed from the neighbouring provinces; that will involve the disadvantage that they will not be acquainted with the Oriya language when first posted to the Province but they will no doubt soon acquaint themselves with it after they have been in office for some time.

“The financial position which the Committee arrived at is as follows: They estimate the basic revenue, as they call it, at 136.58 lakhs, and the basic expenditure at 152.50 lakhs. They add on to the latter the cost of the creation of the new administration, such as, the pay of the Governor, the Ministers and so on. The Committee has put the pay of the Governor and the Ministers as low as possible, but the extra cost involved is 18.23 lakhs. This makes the deficit in the first year one of 34.15 lakhs, or allowing for normal expansion of expenditure, the deficit will be 35.21 lakhs in the first year. The Committee anticipates that this deficit will rise in the course of fifteen years to 40.93 lakhs, or practically 41 lakhs. They point out that the deficit cannot be met by the imposition of new taxes, but must be met by the allocation of new sources of revenue or by subventions from the Central Government, or by a combination of both these methods.

“Now, as I have already mentioned, the Committee has been as economical as possible in devising the form of administration, and with that end in view they propose that the new province should take advantage of various institutions in the neighbouring provinces. They are going to call upon various provinces for assistance in this direction. For instance, they will look to Nagpur and Cawnpore for agricultural training; they will look to Bengal for chemical examinations, for the inspection of boilers, for the training of assistant surgeons and so on; they will look to Bihar for a very considerable amount of assistance, especially in such matters as the training of sanitary inspectors, public health laboratories, the school of mines, Police training colleges, the reformatory school, the mental hospital, the Indian schools of medicine and in particular they will look to Patna for its University and the Law College, the Medical College, the Veterinary College, the Engineering College and last but not the least for its High Court. It is proposed that the Judges of the Patna High Court should proceed from Patna on circuit to the new province, but the Judicial Officers who are to belong to the Bihar cadre will be called upon to administer the local laws of three different provinces:

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"As regards the reasons for these proposals, I will refer hon. Members to paragraph 62 of the report from which it will be seen that it is admitted that the Madras Government has in the past dealt sympathetically with the difficulties of the Oriyas. That has always been admitted when this question has been under consideration. But none the less there is the desire amongst the Oriyas that they should come under one Provincial Government and should be not scattered about in different provinces.

"The Committee summarizes its conclusion as follows:—

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'Nevertheless, the origin of the demand for re-union with Orissa is not to be found in any specific grievances against the present administration. The desire of the educated Oriyas of Ganjam to be included in a separate province of Orissa is genuine and strong; but it is inspired by the ties of race, language, and history, of which they have become increasingly conscious during the last thirty years.'

"My desire in making this motion, as I already said, is to give the members of this House an opportunity to express their views both on the general proposal that a new province should be formed and on the questions whether any area of this province should be transferred to this new province and, if so, what its boundaries should be. Members of the House will, no doubt, consider whether the conclusions which the Committee has drawn from the evidence before it have been correctly drawn, for example, as regards the classification of certain castes as Oriya or Telugu as the case may be, or as to whether Ganjam or Vizagapatam is historically more connected with Orissa than with this province. The House must also consider the proposed administrative arrangements and especially their effect on the portion of the Madras Presidency to be transferred to the new province. Another important question which the House will have to consider is the financial solvency of the new province and the effect of the proposed transfer of an area to the new province on the finances of this Presidency. Finally the House should consider whether in view of the admitted desire of the Oriyas for a separate province, a separate province should be formed in spite of the difficulties attendant on its formation and if so what area should be transferred from this Presidency. It is not desirable to discuss all these matters in too much detail, though I have to some extent summarized the details and endeavoured to give the members of the House a general outline, of the proposals of the committee."

The hon. Mr. H. G. STOKES:—"I second the motion."

Mr. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"Mr. President, Sir, I rise to move the motion of which I have given notice, namely:

'That the consideration of the Report of the Orissa Committee be adjourned to the next meeting of the Council and that in the meanwhile volumes II and III of the Report be made available to Members of this Council.'

"Sir, I do not want to dilate much on this adjournment motion. The hon. the Revenue Member has merely stated in the motion which he has tabled that the Report be taken into consideration. I do not think that would be the proper form when we read the section of the Government of India Act, 52-A. It is clear that on such questions the

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House should be asked to express a definite opinion on the matter and the motion should have been tabled in that form. Probably I should have raised the point much earlier, but all the same I think it is worth mentioning that the form through which the hon. Member seeks our opinion is not the proper form. We should have been asked to express our opinion and time should have been given to us to consider the report and also enable us to make up our minds as to what exactly should be our opinion on points which are so controversial as those contained in the Report. For one thing, Mr. President, I do not know how the hon. the Revenue Member will meet the point that he has not supplied to us copies of the report more than two days prior to the actual date of the meeting. For my part I received a copy of the report, volume I only, on Saturday noon, and even up to this date we have not been furnished with copies of the rest of the volumes. It might be said by some hon. Members of this House that volumes 2 and 3 are not material, but I beg to differ from any gentleman who holds any such view. In fact, references are made in volume I to volumes II and III. In the first place, I have not had the time even cursorily to go through the report, secondly references are made in volume I to facts and figures in volumes II and III. More than that, it is absolutely essential for the members of the House to express an opinion that they should read volume I in conjunction with volumes II and III. These volumes contain the recorded evidence of the Committee and also the written memoranda submitted to it by various persons interested in the question. Further, there are various references to maps, that seem to have been prepared by the Committee or at their instance; and the maps will exactly show where the territory lies which has to be transferred, and which territory it is that is in dispute, which part of the taluk or district that will go to make a new province and so on. Perhaps by a notification circulated to us this morning, two or three maps seem to have been hung in the Legislative Council Library. We were not aware when they were brought and placed at the library. We came to know of this only after coming to this House.

"Now, in the report, references have been made to blocks 2 and 3 in various places. It is not possible for us to find out which is block 1 or which is block A or which is block B. Two or three maps placed in the library without any previous notice cannot enable us to give any intelligent expression to our opinion, on such an important question like this.

"Then again, Sir, I submit that on a question like this, it was not enough that the Report should have been published in the newspapers. Members could not be expected to read the newspaper and come prepared to express their opinion merely on such reading. If at least the hon. the Revenue Member had the courtesy to intimate to us through the Legislative Council office that he was going to make a motion within 15 or 20 clear days, then we could have written to the Secretary for copies of the Report and they could have been made available to us earlier than has been actually done. The notice itself came from the office of the Legislative Council very late, and we had no opportunity

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to go through the Report and the other volumes of the Report which have not yet been placed either in the library or in the possession of the members of the House. I do not want to go into the merits of the question, because I am merely moving a motion for adjournment. There are certain friends of mine in this House who think that in requesting the House to defer consideration of the Report I am putting a spoke in the wheel of an Oriya province being formed and that the Andhras are going to lose the advantage which they are now trying to get in the shape of retaining certain taluks of certain districts proposed to be transferred to the new province of Orissa. Now, Sir, the bone of contention between the two parties, the Oriyas and the Andhras, seems to be concentrated on certain tracts of the Madras Presidency. The point as to whether that contention was tenable or not, the amendment that is on the table of the House, namely, the amendment given notice of by the Raja of Bobbili, definitely makes clear as to what exactly is aimed at by that amendment. It goes far beyond what has been recommended by the Committee itself. That being the case, it is necessary that we should wait for the other two volumes of the Report not yet published and also must have time to study the maps referred to therein. On these grounds I would urge on the House to defer consideration of the Report. After all, the delay of a month or two is not going to matter much, and I do not think any great loss will be sustained by any of the parties concerned. Two months' time is nothing when we consider that this agitation has been going on since the year 1901, and in spite of efforts made by the Government time and again, this question has not been settled. Two months' delay will not matter much, and within that time, we shall be able to form a definite opinion as to what exactly are the respective claims and how far each party is justified in trying to get what they think is their due. For these reasons, I urge on the House to support my motion."

* Mr. V. T. ARASU:—"Mr. President, I have great pleasure in seconding the motion of my hon. Friend, Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed. We received the Report, not on Saturday as pointed out by Mr. Basheer Ahmed, but on Sunday morning. Therefore we have had no time whatever to read the Report and come to any sort of conclusion. There is another reason why the consideration of the subject should be postponed. As would be remembered by the hon. Members of this House, the hon. Member for Ganjam, the Raja of Parlakimedi, was responsible for suggesting the formation of a new Oriya province. It was at his instance, and as a result of his speech at the Round Table Conference, that His Majesty's Government have constituted a committee to go into the question. Unfortunately, the Raja Sahib is not here to-day to give his opinion on account, I understand, of the death of his mother. There is also another reason why this House should wait until the Raja Sahib is able to be present here to express his views on this question. In the Report of the O'Donnell Committee, there are some allegations made against the Raja Sahib. The allegations are that the Raja Sahib has brought undue influence to bear on some of the witnesses who gave evidence before that Committee. I am

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therefore of opinion that it is but fair and proper that this House should hear the Raja of Parlakimedi on this important question. For these reasons I strongly support the motion made by my Friend Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed."

3 p.m. * The RAJA OF KALLIKOTE:—"Sir, I rise to support the motion so ably moved and seconded by the hon. Members of the Opposition. Volume II of the Report which contains several particulars including maps showing the population of the different areas and other information that will be useful is not yet before us. Of course volume III containing the evidence, according to orders of the Government of India, will not be published and so we are only concerned with volumes I and II. Even volume I came into my hands only a week ago and other hon. Members only got it on Saturday. Because I am particularly interested I managed to get this earlier. Nobody has had the time to study it and come to definite conclusions. From the correspondence I am having with a Calcutta firm I am told that the second volume is not yet printed.

"Apart from these considerations the absence of the Raja Sahib of Parlakimedi is a great handicap to us. There seems to be the biggest controversy as to whether the Parlakimedi Estate should or should not be included in the proposed province. Several statements have been made in favour and against the proposal and even allegations have been made against the Raja Sahib. It is therefore fair and reasonable that he should be given a chance to put forward his case. Besides, the Raja Sahib moved this question at the Round Table Conference and he was also an Associate Member of the Committee whose Report is before us. He realizes the importance of the situation and would have certainly been here to-day, but unfortunately owing to certain recent domestic calamities he has been deprived of this opportunity. This seems to be an additional ground in support of the motion and in view of the fact that the material before us is defective for want of the second volume, I would appeal to the House and the hon. Members of Government not to press for the motion but to agree to adjourn the consideration until the next meeting of the Council."

* The RAJA OF BOBBILI:—"Sir, in rising to oppose the motion before the House I wish to say that every one is aware that this question has been engaging the public attention very seriously ever since the Committee was formed and especially more so ever since the Report was published.

"I find, especially since the Report was published, that this question has been seriously agitating the minds of the public of both the provinces. I also feel that not only in the interests of the public but also in the interests of every one concerned, it is desirable that this question should be decided as early as possible. I am no-doubt sorry that the Raja Sahib of Parlakimedi is unable to attend the present session and present his case to-day. If it had been possible to give such an opportunity to him in the remaining few days of this Council,

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I would have never opposed this motion for adjournment. As I understand, the position is that the Council may be called into being in October or November. By that time I presume the Government of India will have formulated their proposals and sent them both to the Consultative Committee and to the Home Government. It is the special privilege of this House that it should express its opinion before final proposals for the formation of a new Oriya province are made. There are areas in the Oriya province which are bound up by ties of race, religion and language with the territories in this Province for many centuries and it is now proposed in this Report to cut them away from the rest of the Province. Having had the honour of representing Vizagapatam district including the Agency tracts, it is my duty to place before this House the strong feelings of the people of those districts if the Committee's proposals for the formation of a Oriya province are carried into effect. But I do not propose to speak on the merits of the report on the adjournment motion now before the House. My submission to the House is that as there is no other opportunity for this House to express its opinion on this report and as the fate of several millions of people of this Province is going to be decided before very long, it is necessary that both the Consultative Committee and the Government should have the valuable opinion of this House before them. It is therefore necessary that this House should express its opinion on the motion moved by the hon. the Revenue Member now. With these few words I strongly oppose the motion."

* Rai Sahib C. KOLANDA REDDI:—"Mr. President, although indisposed still, yet I am constrained to intervene in this debate on account of the importance of the matter. Having received Volume I of the Report only a couple of days back, and having had no time to study it or do full justice to it, we cannot be expected to express our opinion on this important matter in a proper manner. In fact, many of us only had a cursory glance of the Report. Fain would I therefore support the motion of my hon. Friend Mr. Basheer Ahmed for the postponement of the consideration of this matter until the next meeting, but my difficulty is: when is the next meeting to come off? Somebody said it would be in September, another in October, a third in November, and a fourth in January. I am afraid we shall have to wait till Greek Kalends. That is why I am obliged to oppose my Friend's motion. I do not mean in any way to discourage my Oriya brethren in their attempt to have their own Province. On the other hand I wish them good luck. With all the revenue they could scrape from that arid land, I am afraid they will be put to an initial additional expenditure of over Rs. 50 lakhs which the Imperial Government or the Federal Government or the Central Government—call it whatever you like—will be obliged to shell out, if the proposal to create a Oriya province were to become a *fait accompli*. Again not only initial expenditure, but also a large recurring expenditure they will have to bear. It may be said that I am just entering on the merits of the case but my submission is that certainly we Andhras, all of us, here and elsewhere, would be very happy if our Oriya brethren had a Province

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of their own, because we had been fighting for the last two decades for an Andhra province. Our difficulty is that instead of getting a province for ourselves we are being dismembered. According to the recommendation of the majority Report a large slice of the Telugu country is proposed to be tacked on to the Orissa province."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member will confine his remarks to the motion under discussion."

Rai Sahib C. KOLANDA REDDI:—"If the hon. the Revenue Member assures us that he will give us an early opportunity for discussing this important matter, I shall have no objection to support the motion of my hon. Friend Mr. Basheer Ahmed. Otherwise it must be proceeded with now."

* Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—"I also oppose this adjournment motion. At first sight one would naturally wish that this motion should be supported. I quite realize that the Report was distributed very late and probably when the second and third volumes are available we will be in a better position to come to definite conclusions. But our real difficulty is whether our opinion is going to have any value at all. I am afraid unless we express our opinion on the Report now, it is not likely that our opinion will be considered at all at any future time. If the hon. the Revenue Member assures us that a chance will be given to us, say that we will have an opportunity of expressing our opinion in a month or so, then we can support this motion. But if there is no certainty of the Council meeting in the near future, then our opinion expressed at any distant future will not have any value, because by the time the rest of the Report is printed and published the Government of India will have made their proposals. The strength of feeling among the Telugu-speaking population is very strong and they are of opinion that the recommendations of the Orissa Committee ought not to be given effect to, and that the considered opinion of this House should be sent in time to the Government of India. But for this reason I would certainly not have opposed this motion. Most of us are anxious that this question should be settled. Although the Report is big, the pages that concern Madras are very few and most of the pages are occupied by financial statistics. Most of the pages concern other Provinces. So it will not be difficult for us to come to conclusions on this report."

* Mr. A. V. BHANOJI RAO:—"I rise to oppose this motion, because the reason given by my hon. Friend Mr. Basheer Ahmed is not at all convincing. He said that the first volume came to his hand only on Saturday. I am sure that the hon. Mover knows that this controversy had been going on for the last six months or one year and all people know that Oriyas are preparing their case. I may tell for the information of the House when Mr. Patnaik and myself were travelling in the same train, and when I asked him as to what the various books and papers which he had were he replied they were all about the Oriya question. So he cannot say that people are not prepared to express their opinion on this matter now."

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“ The second volume contains nothing but the evidence. As regards the maps they were hung up yesterday in the Council Library and if hon. Members had taken a little interest they would have known that they relate to the motion that would come before the House to-day. The reasons advanced by several hon. Members in support of the motion for adjournment are not convincing. I am afraid that unless this Council expresses its opinion on the question now, the Government of Madras will be put in a very delicate position when they have to report to the Government of India on this subject, and further new constitutions will be introduced for the various provinces very shortly. Unless the Government of India have the definite opinion of this Council on this subject, they will not be able to prepare a scheme for the formation of various linguistic provinces. I am afraid if this subject is not considered now, it cannot come up before the House for some time more and the case may go by default for not having expressed our opinion in time. Under these circumstances, as both the Andhras and the Oriyas are prepared and have come down here, fully prepared, I think the motion for adjournment must be opposed very strongly.”

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p.m.

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—“ Mr. President, Sir, while opposing the motion for adjournment one or two hon. Members said that the case may go by default. I am afraid they are not aware of the fact that the Government of India have not asked this Government to elicit the opinion of this Council on the question of the formation of an Oriya province. Under section 52-A of the Government of India Act, it is incumbent on the Government of India to consult this House before they can constitute any new Governor's or Lieutenant Governor's province. Therefore those who apprehend that the case may go by default do not know that the motion now put forward by the Madras Government is not done at the instance of the Government of India.

“ The next question is when the next meeting of the Council will be held. I suggest that if the Government of India asks for the opinion of this Council, the Government of Madras will arrange for an early meeting of this House to enable it to express an opinion on the subject. Therefore the case will not go by default if we do not express our opinion now. Moreover, we have not had sufficient time to thoroughly consider the pros and cons of the question as the Report was put into our hands only recently. It is a very important question and therefore I think it is better that the discussion is postponed. It was said that hon. Members who will be affected by the formation of this province are already aware of the facts. But I should like to point out to them that it is not only the opinion of the Oriya or the Andhra members that are affected by this question but the opinion of the Council as a whole. The whole Presidency will be affected if you take away a district here and a district there. For these reasons, I support the motion for adjournment.”

* Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasayo:—“ Mr. President, Sir, it is admitted on all hands that members are not fully prepared to consider the question at present. I am also not prepared to do full justice to

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the subject. Even the hon. the Revenue Member said that for want of time he could not prepare the map showing the tracts proposed to be transferred. (Interruption.) I heard you say like that. If that is so everybody is not prepared. Of course one gentleman said—he spoke not only on behalf of the Andhras but also on behalf of the Oriyas though he is only an Andhra—that the rival parties were thoroughly prepared to deal with the question now. I do not know where he got this information from. If I had the opportunity I should like to cross-examine him and show that he has not studied this subject well. Unfortunately I cannot do it. The only ground on which the Andhras want this question to be rushed through in this House now is that the Government of India without consulting the Madras Government and the Madras Council may recommend a scheme to the Secretary of State, get his approval and notify the creation of a new Oriya province. I am afraid they are drawing too much upon their imagination to say so. I am certain that the Government of India will realize their responsibility and call upon this Government and this Council to express their opinions knowing full well that this Government have always been unsympathetically opposed to the transfer of these tracts to a new Oriya province."

Rai Sahib C. KOLANDA REDDI:—"On a point of order, Mr. President, are we now discussing the question of the transfer of these tracts?"

Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasayo:—"I know I am quite in order. Reference was made to this question before by several hon. Members and by the hon. Member who raises this point of order.

"As has been pointed out, this Council has got the right, except under section 52-A, to express its opinion on the question before it is finally decided. Therefore nothing will be lost if the consideration of this subject is postponed.

"Moreover the Oriyas are in a hopeless minority in this House whereas the Andhras are in a very powerful position as is seen from the way in which they are represented in the House and in the various offices held by them. If this motion is lost it will show the tyranny of the majority over a helpless minority. If the Andhras have any sense of fairplay I think they will agree to this adjournment motion and urge upon the Government to have the next meeting of the Council as early as possible to enable us to express a well considered opinion on the subject. Of course, if they wish to rush through they can easily do it, but that would be mere tyranny."

* The hon. Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL:—"Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the House in meeting the several arguments advanced either for or against the adjournment motion. But I should like to associate myself with my hon. Friend the Raja of Bobbili in regretting the absence of the Raja of Parlakimedi. But his views are well-known to members of the House. This matter is not certainly sprung on us. It has been under consideration for some years and we all know that it has been coming forward in an acute form at the present time. As

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a matter of fact the appointment of this Committee was sufficient to show that an early decision was going to be taken on this subject. I am quite sure everyone interested in this question has been preparing arguments either in favour or against the transfer of certain parts of this Presidency to a new Oriya province. As regards the remarks of the last speaker, I am not sure how an adjournment will lessen the 'tyranny' as my hon. Friend expresses it, of the Andhras at a later date. I hope this debate will not develop into an acute racial dispute as foreshadowed by the remarks of the last speaker. I am quite sure that everyone in this House will deal with this question on broad considerations and not from personal considerations arising from his belonging to one race or another race. In any case there are besides the Andhras and the Oriyas a number of other hon. Members who can be trusted to arrive at a fair decision on the facts placed before them. I trust hon. Members will take such advantage as they can of the opportunity which I have given them to place their views before the Government and therefore before the Government of India and presumably before the Consultative Committee as well. It is most desirable that the House should take advantage of this opportunity to express their views now, as the next meeting of the Council is not likely to be held before November."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The question is that the consideration of the Report of the Orissa Committee be adjourned to the next meeting of the Council and that in the meanwhile Volumes II and III of the Report be made available to the Members of the Council."

The question was put and declared lost. A poll was demanded and the House divided thus:— 3-30 p.m.

Ayes.

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| 1. Mr. V. M. Ramaswami Mudaliyar. | 11. Mr. A. B. Shetty. |
| 2. " K. P. Raman Menon. | 12. " Abdul Hameed Khan. |
| 3. " P. Bayappa Reddi. | 13. " Basheer Ahmed Sayeed. |
| 4. " T. Narasa Reddi. | 14. " Ahmed Miran. |
| 5. Raja of Kallikote. | 15. " K. Nachiyappa Gounder. |
| 6. Sriman M. G. Patnaik Mahasayo. | 16. " A. Pl. N. V. Nadimuthu Pillai. |
| 7. Dr. P. Subbarayan. | 17. " K. S. Sivasubrahmanya Ayyar. |
| 8. Mr. T. S. Ramaswami Ayyar. | 18. " V. T. Arasu. |
| 9. Rao Bahadur T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai. | 19. S. M. K. Beyabani Sahib Bahadur. |
| 10. Khan Bahadur P. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur. | |

Noes.

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| 1. The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir Mahmud Usman Sahib Bahadur. | 6. The hon. Mr. P. T. Rajan. |
| 2. " *Diwan Bahadur Sir M. Krishan Nayar. | 7. " Diwan Bahadur B. Muniswami Nayudu. |
| 3. " Sir Archibald Campbell. | 8. Rao Bahadur G. Jagannatha Raju. |
| 4. " Mr. H. G. Stokes. | 9. Mrs. K. Alamelumangathayaramma. |
| 5. " Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar. | 10. Mr. C. E. Jones. |
| | 11. " J. A. Thorne. |
| | 12. " H. M. Hood. |
| | 13. " R. Madanagopal Nayudu. |

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Noes—cont.

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| 14. Mr. S. H. Slater. | 42. Mr. A. Harischandrudu. |
| 15. „ E. Conran Smith. | 43. „ K. Kesavaramamurti. |
| 16. „ T. Sundara Rao Nayudu. | 44. „ Mahboob Ali Baig. |
| 17. Khan Sahib Syed Tajudin Sahib Bahadur. | 45. „ Sami Venkatachalam Chetti. |
| 18. Mr. M. D. T. Ranganatha Mudaliyar. | 46. „ M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar. |
| 19. „ K. C. M. Venkatachala Reddiyar. | 47. „ A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar. |
| 20. „ G. Ranganatha Mudaliyar. | 48. „ K. Koti Reddi. |
| 21. „ M. B. Rangaswami Reddi. | 49. „ C. R. Parthasarathi Ayyangar. |
| 22. Subadar-Major S. A. Nanjappa Bahadur. | 50. „ F. G. Luker. |
| 23. Diwan Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabhapati Mudaliyar. | 51. „ A. W. Hutton. |
| 24. Mr. M. S. Sreshta. | 52. „ R. Foulkes. |
| 25. „ P. C. Moses. | 53. „ F. J. Stanes. |
| 26. „ P. V. Rajagopala Pillai. | 54. „ F. E. James. |
| 27. „ C. Indrayya. | 55. Rai Sahib C. Kolanda Reddi. |
| 28. Rao Sahib V. Dharmalingam Pillai. | 56. Mr. J. Kuppaswamy Choudari. |
| 29. Raja of Bobbili. | 57. „ C. Satyanarayana Choudari. |
| 30. Kumararaja of Venkatagiri. | 58. „ C. Basu Dev. |
| 31. Zamindar of Mirzapuram. | 59. Rao Sahib D. Krishnamurti. |
| 32. Mr. M. A. Muthiah Chettiyar. | 60. Mr. A. Ramakrishna Reddi. |
| 33. „ A. V. Bhanoji Rao. | 61. Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Sahib Bahadur. |
| 34. „ J. A. Davis. | 62. Mr. G. Sriramulu. |
| 35. „ Daniel Thomas. | 63. „ H. M. Jagannatham. |
| 36. Pandit Ganala Ramamurti. | 64. Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan. |
| 37. Rao Sahib P. Subrahmanya Chetti. | 65. Mr. G. R. Premayya. |
| 38. Zamindar of Kirlampudi. | 66. Rao Sahib V. I. Muniswami Pillai. |
| 39. Rao Sahib C. Jayaram Nayudu. | 67. Khan Bahadur T. M. Moidoo Sahib Bahadur. |
| 40. Zamindar of Chemudu. | 68. Mr. G. Lakshmana Reddi. |
| 41. Mr. D. V. Narasimhaswami. | 69. „ C. Krishnan. |
| | 70. „ P. Peddiraju. |

Neutral.

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| 1. Mr. B. P. Sesha Reddi. | 4. Rao Bahadur T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar. |
| 2. Swami A. S. Sahajanandam. | 5. Mr. K. Singam Ayyangar. |
| 3. Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar. | 6. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro. |

Ayes 19. Noes 70. Neutral 6.

The motion was lost.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"Before proceeding with the further consideration of this motion, I wish to inform the House of the procedure that I propose to adopt. There are two ways of dealing with such a motion. Firstly, it may be dealt with on the analogy of a Bill where, after the motion for consideration is passed, individual amendments are taken up, discussed and voted upon. Secondly, as has been done on a previous occasion with reference to a similar kind of motion, the main motion and the amendments may be discussed together though voted upon separately. The latter procedure may entail repetition of ideas, the overlapping of arguments and much loss of time. The vote now recorded by the House on the motion of Mr. Basheer Ahmed indicates the sense of the House with regard to the main motion. If it is to the convenience of the House and if no serious objection is taken, I would adopt the former course and put the main motion to the vote of the House first. After that is carried the House may discuss the amendments which raise important issues and vote upon them.

(Voices: 'No objection'.)

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[The President]

“ No objection being taken, I shall put the main motion to the vote of the House.

“ The motion is

‘ that the Report of the Orissa Committee be taken into consideration’.”

The motion was carried.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—“ We have got on the agenda two amendments—one given notice of by the Raja of Bobbili and the other by Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar. The first portion of the amendment of Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar covers the same ground as the amendment given notice of by the Raja of Bobbili, but the latter is a more comprehensive one. So I would call upon the Raja of Bobbili to move his amendment and later on would allow Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar to move the second portion of his amendment. The House will vote upon the amendments separately.”

* The RAJA OF BOBBILI:—“ Sir, with your permission, I move the following amendment:—

‘ Add the following at the end:—

“ and on such consideration this Council strongly opposes and emphatically protests against the recommendations of the Orissa Committee in so far as it favours the transfer of any portion of the Vizagapatam district and of any portion of the Ganjam district south of the Rushikulya river, its tributary, Godahado river and the Mohini hills and the transfer of any areas in which aboriginal tribes are in the majority, and this Council is further of opinion that this province should not be called upon to pay any subsidy either directly or indirectly on account of the transfer of any area from this province to the new Oriya province and urges upon this Government to convey this opinion to the Government of India with their own recommendation to the same effect.”’

“ While doing so, I wish to make it quite clear that we do not stand in the way of the legitimate aspirations of the Oriyas for the formation of a province for them who are bound by common ties. I certainly sympathize with those aspirations of the Oriyas. I think the important grounds on which the separation of the province is urged are (1) to bring together the Oriyas who are now scattered in the various provinces, and (2) to eliminate the minorities problem. My primary objection to the report is that, by seeking to eliminate the minorities problem, you are creating a new minority problem in the case of the Andhras. It may be said in reply that adequate safeguards will be devised, and that there would be special representation, etc. But I am afraid, these are after all of doubtful utility. Those, Andhras, living in Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts—and who are going to become a minority—strongly object to the separation from the rest of the Andhras with whom they have been associated for many centuries.

[The Raja of Bobbili]

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" Apart from the claims of the Andhras in these areas, I wish to place before this House the case of the aboriginal tribes who are almost voiceless and unable to effectively place their case before the public. Of course, it is a well-known fact that these people mostly inhabit the backward tracts known as the Agency and I think the Madras Government is spending three to four times the revenue derived, on this area. The test which the Report applies is one of race. I believe the Committee have erred when they said that there is racial affinity between the aboriginal tribes of Jeypore and the Oriyas in the Orissa province. I believe that the aboriginal tribes in Jeypore migrated to that part of the country really from the Central Provinces. It cannot be said that, simply because they speak the Oriya language, they are Oriyas by race.

3-45
p.m.

" In deciding whether an area predominantly inhabited by the aboriginal tribes should be transferred or retained, I wish to impress on hon. Members of this House that they should first consider the interests of the tribes themselves, and not the interests of either the Andhras or the Oriyas. When you find what the Madras Government has been able to do to develop the Agency tracts, to provide facilities for the improvement of the economic condition of these aborigines, you are really unable to concede even a single point in favour of the transfer of these areas to a province, which even according to the Report itself is not likely to be self-supporting. My personal opinion however is that the figures mentioned in the Report about the establishment of the Secretariat will not be sufficient for carrying on the management of the new province; and I am sure it will be ultimately found necessary to increase the establishment; and in that way, the deficit will be much more than 45 lakhs. The question is: are we now going to transfer these tracts to the new province and thus deprive them of all the benefits and advantages that they now enjoy?

" Another difficulty that I foresee is the risk of providing Police facilities. We are not having sufficient Police force in these parts; a force is at present maintained at Vizagapatam. In times of trouble, it is very easy to convey the Police force to these areas. If the Jeypore zamindari is transferred to the new province, the Government of that province would be compelled to maintain a large force in a very unhealthy locality like Koraput and it will be really out of touch with the Inspector-General of Police. That is one reason. I have already stated that the proposal recommended will not be in the interests of the aboriginal tribes.

" As regards Parlakimedi, I feel that the very reasons given in the Report show that Parlakimedi does not fulfil any of the conditions laid down for its inclusion in the new province and separation from Madras. I need not therefore pursue that matter further.

" As regards the other areas, I do not see any justification for transferring those areas against the will of the population. I have

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[The Raja of Bobbili]

stated in my amendment that 'all areas north of the Rushikulya river' alone should be included in the new province. The rest of the district should remain with Madras.

"Sir, I have not very much more to say. I only wish to stress this point: that by creating this new province and including the Agency therein, a claim might be made later on, on the finances of Madras; simply because Madras has been spending more than Rs. 30 lakhs on these areas over and above the income derived from them, it might be said that Madras should contribute that amount towards the finances of the new province, to cover up the deficit. The purpose of my amendment is to make that point quite clear, that no such claim should be made on this province.

"With these words, Sir, I wish to recommend to the House my amendment."

The KUMARA RAJA OF VENKATAGIRI seconded the motion.

* Mr. K. P. RAMAN MENON:—"May I ask the hon. Member who moved the amendment to split it into three portions? If that is done, we can easily follow his argument with reference to the last portion of his argument at least. For example, I completely sympathize with the hon. Member when he says that this Presidency should not be called upon to subsidize the new province when it comes into being. But before I speak further on the other matters referred to in the amendment, such as racial distribution, the affinity of the aboriginal tribes, etc., I wish to know if the hon. Member would split his motion into three portions. The proposition naturally divides itself into three parts. First of all, there is the dismemberment. If I may so call it—of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. Then comes the question of the aboriginal tribes—whether they are to be relegated to the new province or to be retained in the Madras province itself. I do not know how they are to be distributed between the two provinces. Thirdly, Sir, comes the subsidy question on which perhaps almost every one is agreed that we shall not be called upon to contribute anything to the new province. May I therefore call upon the proposer of the amendment to split it into three parts, so that it may be easier for us to follow the debate and to make up our minds with reference to each part of the proposition moved by him?"

* The RAJA OF KALLIKOTE:—"Mr. President, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion moved by my hon. Friend, the Raja Sahib of Bobbili. While thanking the Opposition for the little support they have given us, the result of the modest proposal made by us that this question be deferred until the next meeting of the Council clearly shows how helpless a minority the Oriyas are, not only in this Council, but in this province. I am afraid a debate on any motion regarding this subject is bound to be one-sided in this House. Including the hon. Member that is absent, there are three Oriyas in this House in a total strength of 132 and, Sir, you can well imagine what support the matter will receive. It is most unfortunate that this debate should have been

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introduced in this House. The Oriyas would welcome a debate in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State and an impartial decision by the Government of India. It is a well-known fact that this Government is against the proposal of any portion of Ganjam going into the Oriya province and I dare say the claims of Oriyas before the House will receive the same fate. I, for one, will not press for a division, as I am confident that the quicker this Council disposes of this question, the stronger will be the case of the Oriyas before the Central Government and the other authorities.

4 p.m. " Mr. President, the Oriyas are in the unfortunate position of being in a helpless minority in four provinces now and there is no salvation for the community until it is brought under one administration. This agitation for the unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts under one province is more than 40 years' old and in spite of severe attacks it still exists and will exist until the problem is solved. Although I know the difficulties the Oriyas are suffering in the other provinces, I do not wish to describe them here, but only wish to describe a few grievances the Oriyas of this Presidency have. To begin with, we are in a helpless minority in this Council and, as Oriyas, we can achieve nothing. The Oriyas are not adequately represented in the Public Services and the little protection we had from the Government has completely disappeared after the constitution of the Public Services Commission. By way of illustration I might quote how even ordinary clerical posts in purely Oriya tracts of the Ganjam district are being filled up by persons from Trichinopoly and Tanjore when there are hundreds of qualified Oriyas in the district starving and unemployed. There are not enough educational facilities for the community and Madras University is about 700 miles away and it is not giving any instructions in Oriya. I have personal experience of this as a student of the Madras University and the Andhra University, although not so far, does not make adequate provision for the teaching of Oriya. Oriya culture and literature is losing its identity and the Oriya students are compelled to go to Cuttack and other places in the Bihar and Orissa province where better attention is paid to the teaching of Oriya; but unfortunately after they come back fully qualified the rules of the Madras Government do not give them a chance to secure any competitive posts. The result is they are discontented and are greatly adding to the list of unemployment in the Ganjam district. We have to come 700 miles to the Madras High Court for litigation whereas we will be within about hundred miles if the proposed province is given as it is intended to continue the same system of circuit judges visiting Cuttack to do the High Court work. There is no doubt that there is a genuine desire on the part of the educated Oriyas to be included in a separate province of Orissa and this desire is inspired not only through the difficulties that I have just described but through ties of history, language, race and relationship, that exist between the Oriyas of Ganjam and Oriyas of existing Orissa.

" I am sorry that there has been all this excitement on the part of the Andhras regarding the proposed Oriya Province. On the other

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hand the proposed province will give a stimulus to the Andhras to carry on their own agitation for a Andhra Province and whether a few miles of territory should be included in the Oriya Province or not should not worry them so much when once they concede to the principle that there should be a redistribution of provinces on linguistic and racial basis. A statement has been made quite recently that Berhampur owes all its culture, learning and civilization to the Telugus; but the fact that there is a college there presented by my late lamented father is carefully and conveniently forgotten. Without this college there would not have been the culture and learning which the Andhras profess they have endowed Berhampur with. The Telugus of Berhampur and Chatrapur are not residents of the land, but have migrated there from the southern districts in search of Government employment and other professions. I know of several families who have come from the south, especially from the Vizagapatam district and settled down in Berhampur and several places of the Ganjam district where luck has favoured them due to the fact that the Oriyas were not educated and were very backward at that time. I have travelled quite enough in the Ganjam Agency and I have noticed at several places that I visited that Oriya is the second language used by these aborigines. It is unfortunate that the report of the Orissa Committee while recommending the inclusion of Parlakimedi Estate and the Jeypore Agency is excluding a strip of the coast including the Estates of Mandasa, Tekkali and Tarla. These estates have as strong a claim to be included in the Oriya Province as the Parlakimedi Estate has. Whatever may be the difference of opinion regarding the boundary, we cannot deny the fact that we have to face actual realities and that is the huge deficit that has been pointed out in the Report. As far as the Ganjam district is concerned, I am definitely against any further taxation and I cannot see what further new source of revenue can be tapped. We have to investigate thoroughly the conditions prevailing in the other parts that are recommended to be included in the new province and see how far taxation on new sources is possible. The expenditure has also to be further examined to see if it can be curtailed further. All this, I submit, can be done effectively by appointing a committee of officials and non-officials from the area that is proposed to be included in the new province to see how far further resources can be tapped and how far expenditure can be reduced. If this is not possible the only other alternative is for the Government of India to come forward with a subvention and thereby satisfy about ten millions of the Oriya population whose grievances are genuine and old. In spite of the opposition that this proposal may receive in this Council if the Oriyas are fortunate enough to get their province I wish to assure you, Sir, that it will be an ideal homogeneous little province where there will be no Brahman and non-Brahman feeling, no Hindu and Moslem differences, and communal troubles, from which other provinces have been suffering. The proposed province will cause no administrative inconvenience to the Madras Government. On the other hand, the separation would save

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this Government a sum of rupees seventeen and odd lakhs. As a measure of retrenchment this should appeal to the hon. the Finance Member. If I was still a member of the Retrenchment Committee, I would press this aspect of the question before the hon. the Finance Member.

"With these few words, Mr. President, I wish to endorse the Majority Report of the Orissa Committee and to add that the Estates of Mandasa, Tekkali and Tarla should be included in the proposed province."

* Mr. C. SATYANARAYANA CHOUDARI:—"Mr. President, Sir, with great pleasure, I rise to support the motion so ably made by the Raja Sahib of Bobbili. The Report before this House consists of two parts; one part dealing with the question of the formation of a separate province for the Oriya-speaking tracts and the other part dealing with the question of the particular areas which ought to be included in the proposed province. Both the recommendations made by the Committee in this report are disappointing and discouraging. The question of the formation of a new province for a particular area or for a particular people is always inseparably bound up with the question of finance. When we deal with the question of the formation of a new province, the first and foremost thing that we ought to consider is the financial implications involved in the proposal! What does the proposed new province cost? What does the administration of the province cost? What are the revenues of the province? What is the expenditure that is likely to be incurred for the administration of the new province? Is there going to be a deficit, and if there should be a deficit, are the people of the new province prepared to tax themselves or make up the deficit somehow or other? These are the points that ought to be borne in mind in dealing with a question of this kind. In fact, that is the principle laid down by the Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference which was appointed to consider the question of the formation of a new province for Sind. Now, applying this test, where do we stand? If we look into the Report, I should say, that the Report stands self-condemned in this matter. The Report states that the province which it proposes to form has to start with a deficit of 35 lakhs in the first year and in the course of 15 years, the deficit will grow to 41 lakhs. And, how is this deficit to be made good. That is a question that ought to be pertinently raised. This question was answered by the Raja Sahib of Parlakimedi. I am sorry to find he is not here to-day. The answer that he gave before the Round Table Conference was that the people are prepared to tax themselves. That is the reply, Sir, which the Raja Sahib made before the Round Table Conference at a time when he had no idea of what the deficit was going to be. Now, if this deficit is to be made good at all, it can be made good only by an enhancement of taxes by 30 per cent. I ask, Sir, are the people prepared to tax themselves by 30 per cent more. The Raja Sahib has given an undertaking on behalf of the people that they are prepared to do that. When I read his reply, I was reminded of the man of the Tamil proverb who goes along a street, sees a Pillayar koil and a coconut shop, lays his hands

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upon the coconut in the shop, breaks it in order to satisfy the deity and goes away without paying the owner of the coconut. The Raja Sahib has nothing to lose by the undertaking that he has given. Is he authorized or is he competent to speak on behalf of the people? As we know, the people of the areas which are sought to be included in the new province are already poorer than the people of the other parts of the Presidency. Thirty per cent enhancement in the taxes is bad enough, nay, may I say it is frightful even for a normally well-off province; it would be oppressive—Sir, nay, unbearable—in the case of the people on whose behalf the Raja Sahib spoke before the Round Table Conference.

“ Well, Sir, the other remedy suggested by the report to get over this question of financial difficulty is that the Government of India might be asked to contribute out of the Central or Federal revenues. Here again, the Committee has gone wrong. It is a well-known fact that the Government of India has made it very clear that under no circumstances, would they accept any liability on the Central revenues. The Government of India, as it is, has to contribute about a crore of rupees to maintain the new North-West Frontier Province and if a separate province should be formed for Sind, another half a crore of rupees will have to be contributed out of the Federal or Central revenues. Wherefrom, then, will the Government of India be expected to get these 30 or 40 lakhs which the Oriya province may require to make good the deficit?

“ Then, Sir, assuming that the Government of India is going to agree to the proposal to contribute 30 or 40 lakhs every year, yet the Government of India is not going to be a free agency in the matter under the new constitution, as we expect to have provincial autonomy for every province, when the provinces will have as much independence as possible and the voices of the provinces will have to be taken into consideration. The various provinces may complain or may resist the claim for contribution and justly too, because there is absolutely no justification why the general tax-payer ought to be expected to pay just to satisfy the sentiments of the Oriyas in their anxiety to have a separate province. If we look into Percy Report, i.e., the Federal Finance Committee, we see that under the new constitution six out of eight provinces will have to face staggering deficits year after year.

“ Sir, having indicated the financial difficulties implied in the recommendation of the Committee for the formation of a separate province, I must at once say, at the same time, that I am not opposed to the principle of forming provinces on a linguistic basis. In fact, Sir, there is no responsible Andhra who is opposed to the principle underlying the demand of the Oriyas for a province for themselves. If my Oriya friends want to have a province for them and if they think that they can meet the expenditure involved in having a new province for themselves without the financial difficulties coming in the way, by all means, let them have it; I will be the first man to bless them and wish them every success.

[Mr. C. Satyanarayana Choudari] [2nd August 1932]

"Having indicated the financial difficulties so far as the formation of a new province is concerned, I will go to the second part of the report which deals with the question of the areas that have got to be included in the proposed new province. With the exception of one or two small tracts, the report recommends the inclusion of the whole of the Vizagapatam Agency tracts. Sir, this is a recommendation which is opposed to the view of the Government of Madras. The Government of Madras has had occasion to express its attitude on this matter on more than one occasion between now and 1902.

4-15
p.m.

"Time and again the Government of Madras have made it clear that the Agency tract cannot be transferred to the new province. In fact, the sub-committee appointed by the Statutory Commission which is popularly known as the Simon Commission, has also made a similar recommendation, namely, that the Vizagapatam Agency tract cannot, under any circumstances, be transferred to the new province. I think there are valid reasons to support this recommendation. The Agency tract consists not only of Oriyas, not only of Telugus; there are wild tracts inhabited by aboriginal tribes like the Khonds, Savaras and Koyas. These are tribes who are very much uncivilized, who require to be reclaimed, which means money. The Government of Madras have been very charitable towards these tribes. They have been spending year after year several lakhs to improve their civilization and their material condition. Now to assign these tribes, or rather, to send them along with the Oriyas, when the Oriyas are going to start with a deficit budget in the first year is really cruel.

"Apart from the question of aboriginal tribes residing in the Agency tracts, what is the condition of the Oriyas themselves? The Oriyas residing in the Vizagapatam Agency tracts are far less civilized and far less advanced than their Oriya brethren in the Orissa province. Even these require special consideration at the hands of the Government. Under the new province the Oriyas residing in this area cannot be expected to receive the same attention which they are having at the hands of the Government of Madras all along.

"Now, Sir, there is another reason why the Vizagapatam Agency tract should not be transferred to the new province. There is the Godavari Delta system, which is mainly dependent upon the forests for the rains which give us the full supply of water for our irrigation channels. If that tract is to be taken away by the new province then the forests situated in those tracts will also go away into their hands, and there is the danger of the delta system being affected, which in its turn might ultimately affect the rest of the country.

"Now, Sir, there is the question of the transfer of certain portions of the Ganjam district. The whole Committee is unanimous in recommending certain portions to be transferred to the new province.

"On the question of Parlakimedi estate there is a difference of opinion between the President and the other members of the Committee.

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The same arguments which I have adduced with reference to the Vizagapatam Agency tract would apply with equal force so far as the aboriginal tribes residing in these areas are concerned.

"The reasons given with reference to the inclusion of Berhampur taluk and Parlakimedi taluk will have to be specially considered. In the case of the Berhampur taluk there is the Berhampur town. As hon. Members of this House are aware Berhampur town is mostly populated by Telugus. It is more a Telugu town than an Oriya town. Forty-eight per cent of the people of the town are Telugus. The town is built up by the enterprise of the Telugus. The Telugu inhabitants of the town have vested interests in the town. Is it fair that such a town should be transferred to the new province?

"Then with regard to the Parlakimedi estate, the case made out by the other members of the Committee is unconvincing. The President has stated that the argument that the Telugu people of Parlakimedi estate are in favour of going into the new province is unreal. He is quite right when he said that he cannot simply believe this. The Committee has set before itself certain tests which ought to be satisfied before certain tracts can be assigned to the new province. Two of these tests are the race test and the language test. If we apply the race test, we find that 53 per cent of the people living in Parlakimedi estate are Telugus and less than 24 per cent are Oriyas. If we apply the language test, then we find that 63 per cent of the population are Telugus and less than 21 per cent are Oriyas. Where then, Sir, is the case for the transfer of Parlakimedi estate made out? Finally there is one general and most important argument which I would submit in support of the motion made by the hon. the Raja Sahib of Bobbili, namely, the desirability of avoiding, as far as possible, the minorities question in the new province; I would say, Sir, that the minorities question is a question which is troubling every country wherever it exists. That is a problem which ought to be avoided as far as possible.

"Let me make my position quite clear. I am not for opposing the demand of the Oriyas if it is financially a practicable proposition. The principle to be adopted in the formation of a new province is the principle of including only such tracts where the Oriyas are predominantly large in numbers. If this test is to be followed then Parlakimedi estate ought to be excluded, and a portion of Berhampur taluk also, including Berhampur town will have to be excluded. Wherever you find non-Oriyas residing in large numbers, exclude them in forming the new province and include only those tracts where Oriyas are predominating in numbers; then we shall have no quarrel with the Government. If, on the other hand, Government should accept the recommendations of the Committee wholesale, then I am afraid Government will be courting trouble on its head. We know what it is to partition a country against the wishes of a large section of the public. We know what it was in Bengal when it was divided. If it is the intention of Government to accept the recommendations of the Committee wholesale then we shall not be wrong if we interpret their attitude as an attempt to dismember the Andhra country: That is a matter which Government would do

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well to consider very carefully before they take any definite action in the matter. The feeling in the country in this matter is very strong and intense. At a meeting presided over by Sir Kurma Reddi, the other day at Bezwada, which was attended by people from all parts of the Andhra country—it was a full meeting—this question was freely and fully discussed and the unanimous opinion of the meeting was that the recommendations of the Committee ought to be modified on the lines suggested by me, namely, to exclude the tracts where the Telugus are predominantly large in numbers from the new province. It does not matter if there is a small number of Andhras in the tracts proposed to be added to the new province. If there is any tract which is sought to be added in the new province where the number of Telugus is larger than the number of Oriyas then the feeling in the country against inclusion is so strong that Government cannot afford to ignore it without really complicating the position in the country which is already bad. I, therefore, support the motion of the hon. Member from Vizagapatam."

* Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO:—"Mr. President, Sir, we are, in this Council, four representatives from the Ganjam district constituency, one of whom represents the special constituency of landholders (Oriya and Telugu) and two of whom are Oriyas, represent the general constituency and myself a Telugu, who has been associated with Oriya zamindars for generations and have the honour of being one of the originators of the movement of Utkal union, to bring together all the Oriya-speaking people under one administration for the promotion of culture, race, language and material advancement of the Oriyas. I supported the plea of a separate province at the Round Table Conference. It is a pity that the Raja of Parlakimedi is not able to be present here to-day, for by his able advocacy he may have thrown light on the arguments in support of the area he is interested in.

"There has been agitation for a separate province since 1901 and many reports and despatches of this Government are now available to Government to formulate a consistent policy on the lines of predominance of language or race in any area to be excluded, though other factors may also play not an insignificant part in the final shaping of the decision relating to such parts of the province as might come within the new province. I agree with the Raja of Khallikote that the report under consideration does not contain all the necessary materials, but to those who reside in the area, the facts are quite familiar.

"Personally, I am in an independent position and am quite disinterested as I hold properties both in the northern and southern parts of the district and do not think that there should be any bitter controversy in the matter. The differences are, in my view, capable of being adjusted amicably by proper understanding.

"As at present understood until there is a change in the programme and procedure, this subject is placed on the agenda of the Consultative Committee. The despatches of the Governments of Madras and of India will also be available for making definite recommendations to His Majesty's Government. As a member of that body, I do not desire to prejudge the issue raised in the debate before the House."

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[Mr. P. C. Moses]

* **MR. P. C. MOSES:**—"Mr. President, Sir, as a member representing Indian Christians of the northern districts, I desire very much to express my views on the question under discussion. In framing their proposals the Orissa Committee took account of language, subsidiary language, the race and the wishes of the people. They also attached primary importance to the wishes of the inhabitants of the tract proposed to become part of the new province, and they proceeded on the principle that only very exceptional circumstances could justify the transfer of an area against the wishes of its inhabitants. Sir, in paragraph 65 on page 26 of the report the concluding sentence reads thus:—

'It is unfortunate that this area includes a Telugu fringe; but the narrow coastal belt in which they predominate cannot be detached from the interior, and the wishes of a small minority cannot be the determining factor.'

"Here is an instance of the reversal of the principles which the members of the Committee have taken into consideration in determining the boundaries. Two facts are evident from this statement, that the Telugus predominate in large numbers and they intensely desire to be left where they have been. To my mind there is no force in the objection that the narrow strip of land could not be detached. No arguments have been advanced why this small belt should not be detached from the interior. Perhaps they are not insuperable; not even serious difficulties. I therefore plead that this narrow coastal belt should be retained in the Madras province. Then again, Sir, I strongly support the opinion of the Chairman on the subject of the inclusion of the Zamindari of Parlakimedi. The other two members of the Committee in framing their recommendation for the transfer of the area argued that the Telugu tenants are happy and contented and that they desire to go along with the zamindar to the new province.

"One would naturally expect that the Telugus would be opposed to such a transfer; a transfer, which would involve separation from a rich province to a poor province, a transfer which would involve separation from the Andhra University which provides special educational facilities for the Telugus. Under these circumstances the Telugus should advance stronger reasons than those mentioned in the report so that they may not argue differently if there is to be a change in the policy of administration. In paragraph 71 the Committee make mention of the places which should be transferred to the new province of Orissa. Going through the statistics I find there is one feature not taken into consideration by the Committee with regard to some areas of the Vizagapatam Agency which are proposed to be transferred to the Oriya province. The population classified in the report as 'neither' preponderates over the Telugus and Oriyas put together. The principal consideration in determining the boundaries is the wishes of the people. If the principal consideration is the wishes of the people, and if they are not in a position to give their opinion, the Legislative Council and the Government should decide for them. What is good for them should be done for them. It is for His Majesty's Government to decide finally for them whether it is beneficial for them to be transferred to the deficit province

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or to remain in the Madras Province. I am definitely for the formation of the Orissa Province. By all means the desire of the Oriyas which in my opinion is quite legitimate should be met with but the province should be formed with such exceptions as I pointed out in the course of my speech."

MR. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI:—"Mr. President, Sir, I should think that the Council should feel immensely grateful to the hon. the Revenue Member for bringing up this subject before this Legislative Council to elicit its opinion with regard to the Report of the Orissa Commission. As you are aware, Sir, our rules and regulations consist of so many checks and counter-checks that the hon. the Revenue Member might easily have tabooed the discussion on this subject on the ground that it is not primarily the concern of the Local Government or that the discussion of this subject might embarrass the proposals of the Government of India to the Home Government, I should think that if the analogy that the Government followed in respect of the other motion is followed here the motion should have also been tabooed by the hon. the Revenue Member and we should have been denied the privilege of discussing this subject. He does not know why those gentlemen who are in favour of consulting this report should ask for an adjournment on the ground, at any rate, on the stated ground that they were not prepared with the material to proceed with the discussion on this subject. Apart from one or two persons whose contention that they did not study the subject-matter of this discussion being correct and true, I do not think, Sir, it would be possible for us to believe that those gentlemen who have taken a prominent part in the discussion of this subject would have considered the non-study of the material as proper ground for adjourning this question. As a matter of fact the speech made by the Raja of Khallikhote let the cat out of the bag. He did not want a discussion from this Council for the reason that they are in a hopeless minority. He never expected the decision to be in his favour. He, therefore, wanted to resort to the device of adjournment so that he may try his hand with the Government of India. When he thinks that the Government of India might come to his support, he is reckoning without the host. The Government of India have already expressed their opinion on the general question of formation of provinces that the whole question is one. In fact this question of the formation of provinces on linguistic provinces was started by the Andhras. There might be many reasons for supporting that agitation. (Interruptions.) Well, I have no objection for yielding the palm to the Oriyas for supporting the agitation for the formation of provinces on linguistic basis. I dare say the chief impetus for the formation of province on linguistic basis is because that sections of population feel that their interests are neglected in the conglomeration of many other races and languages. So that each one community wanted separate administration as their interests might receive better attention at the hands of the Government. Whether their interests consisted in the improvement of land, or whether their interests consisted in the improvement of the trade and commerce or whether their interests consisted in

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fighting for jobs in Government it is immaterial. People did really want that their interests should be carefully attended to by the administration to which they could have easy access. Big communities representing particular language or race should form a geographical unit for the purpose of administration is a very legitimate aspiration. I am one of those who believe that probably better improvement would result by the formation of provinces of that sort. But that proposition must always be secondary to that of finance. But if the province is to face deficits it will not be proper for the mere satisfaction of sentiment to have a linguistic province and face the deficit year after year. Nor would it be a proper proposition even if the Government of India are in a mood to give subventions year after year for each province. I do not think, Sir, that the Government of India, if ever it did, is now in a position to give subsidies to any province. Having regard to that fact which it is impossible to counteract it seems to me that the formation of provinces on linguistic basis whether it be for Oriyas or Andhras is a transfer which is not in the immediate prospect of fructification. It is very likely that the whole question might end with academic discussion. But the Government of India and the Home Government should know the feelings of these people from whom it is sought to take a considerable portion of territory. Now it is also conceded not only by the Government of India but also by the Secretary of State for India in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report that in the matter of division of provinces every care should be taken that no new causes of animosities, irritation or bickerings are given rise to in order to allay the existing ones. If that test is applied this Commission while recognizing that to be the test by which the provinces should be redistributed does not seem to have given their due weight in their recommendations. Large tracts of land which are inhabited by predominantly Telugu population are sought to be taken away and added on to the Orissa Province. I do not think the Oriyas themselves would feel quite comfortable with a strong minority in the province. Even as they say that their feelings, their interests are neglected, that they are not properly represented, that they can never stand to improve in a province where other races or other communities representing other languages predominate, the Telugu minority will feel. The Raja of Khallikhote has made a very important contention in favour of forming the Orissa Province, viz., that their interests are neglected. Same questions may arise in the minds of the Telugus when these tracts are transferred. Would the Raja of Khallikhote be willing to give to the Telugus of Gumsur, Berhampur and Parlakimedi more than two or three seats in the Oriya Province. (The Raja of Khallikhote: Four seats.) You are no better now. You are four here. One gentleman does not want to prejudge the issue though he had many occasions to judge and dictate. Another gentleman who has estates in particular parts does not want those parts to be taken away for the new province. The third gentleman supports because he stands to gain. Sir, therefore, this problem will arise with all minorities and the only solution for avoiding such bickerings will be to allow these minorities to go to a place where they want to remain. I do not think there is any doubt on this point.

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They do not want to be adopted to the new province. They want to be left alone. The Raja of Bobbili has laid down a line of demarcation excluding the Telugu tracts. Except in one or two places neither the Oriyas nor the Telugus are in a majority. There seems to be a neutral population which does not come either as Oriyas or Telugus. That is no reason why their vote should be in favour of Oriyas. It might as well be in favour of Telugus. There is one fact which appeals to me why those tracts should be in the Madras Province. I do not think that Madras is either thoroughly Telugu or Tamil. So I have no bias for Tamils or Telugus inasmuch as I want this to be with the Madras Presidency. The Madras Presidency is in a position to expend the monies for the improvement of those tracts and for the betterment of that population whereas the Oriyas will be in a great handicap when these questions of reclaiming these people arise. Sir, so far as the Government of Madras is concerned I am glad to find that they agree with the point of view put forward by the Telugus of these tracts. As a matter of fact in 1926 in their despatch to the Government of India in answer to a reference from the Government of Bengal they made the following observations:—

'It is shown there that the transfer would give rise to serious difficulties in connexion with the linguistic and racial conditions and the geographical conformation of the tract in question, that it would greatly complicate and confuse its judicial arrangements, and that it would place the administration of its peculiar land revenue system in the languages of officers who would have no acquaintance with the principles on which it is based or with the language in which the bulk of its records are and must continue to be maintained.'

"This despatch was made by the Government of Madras in consultation with the Ministry which then consisted of my hon. Friend Sir Patro who would not like to judge the issue at present. I, therefore, Sir, have great pleasure in supporting the motion made by the Raja of Bobbili."

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* Sriman M. G. PATNAIK Mahasayo:—"Mr. President, Sir, now the question before the House is whether certain areas proposed to be transferred to the new province to be created should be transferred or not from the Madras Presidency. The hon. the Raja of Bobbili moved an amendment that the area north of the Rushikulya river and also north of the Ghodahado river may be taken into the new province and the rest not. Well, some hon. Members called upon him to state what those areas are and what his reasons are for saying that the areas south of that line should not go into the new province. Unfortunately, he has not been able to give his reasons, or at all events he has not tried to elucidate his position till now. As he has got the Report of the Committee, which he seems to have studied well, he ought to have spoken in terms of the language of the Report. That is to say the Report refers to the various taluks in the district. Well, I think for the clear understanding by the several hon. Members of this House, he ought to have taken that course if he cared to convince the Members of this House. But he is sure of carrying this motion with the help of Government. Anyhow, this motion, it seems, is also brought forward

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to strengthen the hands of the Government. The result is well assured in his favour, and therefore he did not care to make the proposition clear. He clubbed in one motion several matters which ought to have been split up as was pointed out by the hon. Member from Malabar. So far as I could understand that proposition, I should say if a line is drawn as proposed by the Raja Sahib of Bobbili, I think the Kodala taluk will go to the new province as well as a portion of the Chatrapur taluk and the whole of the Gumsur division. He tried to exclude the zamindaris of Bodokimidi, Zarada, Chikati and Surangi. I cannot understand how he can claim these areas to be retained in the Madras Presidency. What are the tests to be applied? Apply any test you like, and you will find that these areas cannot be retained. So far as the Berhampur town is concerned, the Oriya and the Andhra population is equal. As stated by the Census Superintendent of the Madras Presidency, the tendency for foreigners is to congregate in towns. That is the reason why you find in all towns a preponderating group of people speaking the Telugu language. Though Berhampur taluk is not decidedly so, Berhampur town is an instance in point. Even in Aska you find the Telugu population preponderating, even in Russelkonda or in Chatrapur, which is only an official colony. At a time when the Oriyas were uneducated and when the Oriyas were compelled to read in schools where only Telugu was taught and when the Oriya language was not the court language, people from the south went there as officials and settled down in those towns. That is the reason why you find in those towns a preponderance of the Telugu population. On that ground you cannot claim that the whole of the Berhampur taluk should be retained in the Madras Presidency. Thus you find that the hon. Mover has not given satisfactory reasons at all for retaining them in the Madras Presidency. He generally said that in those tracts the Telugus preponderate. Let him show by facts and figures the grounds on which he takes his stand. Did he refer to any census figures? Did he refer to the report of the Orissa Committee where the figures are given both by race and by mother tongue? He has utterly failed to maintain his position and I believe he really does not know what areas are included in his own proposition. As he said, as a representative of the Vizagapatam district he had to move this motion. Naturally of course, we know that the Vizagapatam city will be much affected if Jeypur is transferred. Jeypur, so to speak, is an appendage of the Vizagapatam bar. If Jeypur is transferred, the Vizagapatam people will be affected and that is the reason why he fights against the transfer of Jeypur though the Committee state that there is no case made out at all against the transfer so far as the Vizagapatam Agency was concerned. While that is what they clearly stated, what is the evidence let in and what are the arguments put forward by the Andhras so far as the Jeypur Agency is concerned? (Sir A. P. Patro: The ancient boundary of Kalinga.) Of course, I shall come to Kalinga later on.

"Now, as the hon. the Revenue Member pointed out, we have to consider the question from certain standpoints. First of all, it should be considered historically. I shall just read a passage from the famous

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Firminger's Fifth Report. In Volume III of the well-known Firminger's Fifth Report on East India Affairs (1 & 2) at page 79, the Oriyas are described as the natives of the soil. In dealing with the Raj family of Vizianagram in the Vizagapatam district in Volume III of the report it is stated as follows:—

'In general the history of all the Ranzees, or tribe of Raohewar in the circars, trace their origin to a dependence on the ancient rajas of the country either as Chelaks or favoured slaves, managers, talukdars or renters of the subdivisions of the sovereign domain; and such also was the rise of all the other petty holders of land existing in this province, whether descended from the Velmawars of Telinga, or natives of the soil itself properly called Oriya.'

"In dealing with the population of the Northern Circars, Mr. James Grant in his political survey of the Northern Circars reproduced in Volume III of the Fifth Report says:—

'They (the native inhabitants of Northern Circars) are parts of the two nations of Telinga and Oriya, *Woria* or Orissa formerly divided from each other by the Godavari, but since their union under the Government a good deal mixed among themselves, as well as with some of the neighbouring tribes.'

"Therefore, you can clearly see the real boundary between the Telanga country and the Orissa country was the river Godavari. After the downfall of the Orissa kingdom, the northern portion was taken over by the Mahrattas and the southern portion by the Nizam. When the Nizam ruled this part of the country, the Telugus who predominated in the Nizam's Dominion entered this part of the country. So, you will find most of the zamindars you find in the Godavari and in the other districts of the Circars trace their origin from the officials or the farmers of revenue under the Nawab and all these people came from the south or from the Nizam's Dominions. Therefore, it can be easily seen that this part also was part of the Orissa country. Ultimately Oriyas had to seek shelter in the wild tracts of the country when the Orissa kingdom fell and the Oriyas were defeated on this side and also on the other side. It is also stated in the report itself that most of the zamindars were in the Ganjam district where they were appointed as Lords of the Marshes by the King of Puri. The report accepts that theory. It is also stated in the report that the Oriyas held sway even beyond the Kistna river. So, it is clear that it is only in the sixteenth or seventeenth century that the Telugus came to occupy the tract even between the Ganjam district and the Godavari river. You find reference to an Orissa Governor on the banks of the Godavari in the life of Chaitanya, known as Roy Ramanand. The great Lord Gouranga met him on the banks of the Godavari. Now the place has been spotted and marked by a small temple built there. Therefore, there is no doubt that Oriyas held sway over this part of the country also."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"Discussion on this motion will be continued on the next available day. Probably the next available day will be the 4th or the 5th instant which is to be fixed in consultation with His Excellency who is to allot non-official days.

"The Council will now adjourn and meet again to-morrow at 11 a.m."